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AUTHOR McLaughlin, John E.
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ABSTRACT

After the Comanche Indians split from the Shoshoni-Comanche in the early eighteenth century, the Comanche language underwent several subtle changes in the use and position of directional suffixes. The use of two directional suffixes (-kin, meaning "motion toward" and -kwan, meaning "motion away") illustrates these changes. In Comanche, when the action of the verb follows the motion, the initial consonant of the suffixes is generally spirantized. However, when the motion and action are coterminous, the initial consonant of the suffixes is generally either an underlying geminate or a (pre)aspirate, depending on the Pre-Proto-Central Numic stress on the final vowel of the verb root. The source of the geminated/aspirated initial consonant is the durative aspect of the verb root. In contrast, the Shoshoni language has virtually lost the distinction between the geminated/aspirated and the spirantized initial consonant of directional suffixes, and the Southern Paiute language is in the process of losing the distinction. (SB)

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DIRECTIONALS IN COMANCHE*

John E. McLaughlin
University of Kansas

Comanche is one of the seven Numic languages of Uto-Aztecan, whose inter-relationships can be seen in Table 1 on your handout. The time-depth separating Shoshoni and Comanche is historically documented in the early decades of the eighteenth century when the Comanche moved out of eastern and southern Wyoming into the Texas panhandle. In the three centuries since the split, however, there have been several subtle changes in the use and position of some of the directional suffixes.

The directional suffixes which I will be discussing are -kin 'motion toward' and -kwan 'motion away'. These two suffixes generally occur immediately following the verb root, as is discussed in Crapo (1970) and is illustrated in examples (1) through (4) on your handout for both Shoshoni and Comanche.

The initial consonant of the suffixes is generally spirantized in Shoshoni, but in Comanche, when the motion and action are coterminous, the initial consonant is either an underlying geminate or (pre)aspirate, depending on the Pre-Proto-Central Numic stress on the final vowel of the verb root. If the Pre-Proto-Central Numic final vowel was unstressed (marked on your handout with a grave accent), following geminate consonants were phonetically preaspirated. If the Pre-Proto-Central Numic final vowel was stressed (marked with

an acute accent), following geminate consonants were phonetically geminated. Examples (3) through (6) illustrate the two types of initial consonant.

When the action of the verb, however, is following the motion, the initial consonant of the directional suffix is what can be called spirantized (Sapir's and Miller's term for the cognate process in Southern Paiute and Shoshoni). Example (7) illustrates the spirantized consonant in uttukin 'came to give', where the giving occurs after the coming. Example (8), on the other hand, illustrates the aspirated consonant in uttuhkin 'came giving', where the giving is simultaneous with the coming.

Shoshoni only illustrates this variation between aspirated/ geminated consonants and spirantized consonants on a few forms such as examples (9), punikwan 'go see' with a spirantized consonant, and (10), punikkwan 'going along, he saw' with a geminated consonant.

Even in Comanche, the situation is not always clearcut as examples (11) and (12) illustrate. Both of these forms mean the same thing and are composed of the same morphemes, but (11) has the geminate consonant as is expected in this situation while (12) has a spirantized consonant. [redacted] nukkì 'run, singular' in (13) also shows a spirantized consonant where an aspirated consonant would be expected. The two cognate verbs of running in Shoshoni also show only spirantized consonants on the directionals, indicating that the collapse of the distinction between geminate/aspirate directionals and spirantized directionals had begun before the split of Comanche in the eighteenth century.

This variation between spirantized and geminated/aspirated consonants in Comanche, while seeming at first glance to be a function of the relationship of the action to the motion, is only partially so. Both Shoshoni and Comanche geminate the medial consonant of a verb root to indicate durative aspect. Examples (14) and (15) on your handout illustrate this durative gemination for both Shoshoni and Comanche on the verb kat̬ 'sit, singular', which has a spirantized /t/ when non-durative, or momentaneous, and a geminated /t/ when durative as on your handout. This gemination for durative is reconstructible to Proto-Numic on the basis of Central Numic and Western Numic. In Southern Numic, the gemination of a medial consonant has come to mean momentaneous with the spirantized form meaning non-momentaneous, or durative.

This gemination for durative aspect is the source of the geminated/aspirated initial consonant of the directionals in Comanche. Geminated and aspirated consonants in Central Numic are historically derived from Proto-Numic geminated consonants, a stress shift in Pre-Proto-Central Numic making what was originally a phonetic variation (as in Southern Paiute, where a geminate following a stressed vowel is geminate, but is preaspirated following an unstressed vowel), into a phonemic distinction. With the initial consonant of the directional being subject to durative gemination, the motion is viewed in relation to the action as being either an event of unspecified duration occurring prior to the action, or as an event coterminous with the main action, and therefore subject to durative marking to indicate that it was occurring throughout the duration of the action. On the basis of both Southern Numic and Western

Numic, in addition to Comanche, this gemination for duration on the directionals can be reconstructed for Proto-Numic, the initial geminated consonant being reanalyzed as part of the directional so that the stress shift in Pre-Proto-Central Numic further divided the gemination on the directionals into geminated and aspirated forms. Sapir (1930:141) suggested that the geminated directionals and spirantized directionals in Southern Paiute were related to each other as momentaneous and durative forms respectively. On the basis of the data from the other Numic languages, I think that he was correct in viewing this as a durative/momentaneous distinction, but had the forms reversed. The geminated forms in Southern Paiute reflecting the Proto-Numic durative rather than the Southern Paiute momentaneous, and the spirantized forms reflecting the Proto-Numic momentaneous rather than the Southern Paiute durative.

Since the gemination/aspiration on the initial consonant of the directional in Shoshoni is well on the way to complete loss, the directionals are now subject to durative gemination on the initial consonant when the verb root does not have a consonant that can be geminated instead. Examples (16) and (17) illustrate this durative gemination on the directional -kin 'motion toward' with the verb noó 'carry'. (16) illustrating the spirantized form of the directional and (17) illustrating the durative gemination of the initial consonant. In both cases, the action and motion are coterminous. (18) and (19) illustrate this same durative gemination with the directional -kwan 'motion away' on the verb mià 'go'. There is also at least one example of both the medial consonant of the verb root and the initial consonant of the directional having the durative gemination.

This is seen in example (20). yɨkwɨ 'sit, plural' has the medial /k/ geminated for durative and the initial /k/ of the directional -kin is also geminated for durative. This may be a case of emphatic durative, or a case of the initial stages of the reanalysis of the initial geminated consonant on the directional -kin with a specific meaning of repetitive.

This type of durative gemination on the directional is not found in Comanche, probably because of the retention of the older system of geminate/aspirate initial consonant marking the duration only of the directional and not of the main verb.

Comanche, therefore, shows the Proto-Numic pattern of spirantized initial consonant on the directional when the motion precedes the main verb action and a geminated/aspirated initial consonant when the action and motion are coterminous, this gemination/aspiration being a reanalyzed form of the Proto-Numic gemination for durative. Shoshoni has generally lost the distinction, levelling most occurrences of the directionals to a spirantized initial consonant, but reapplying durative gemination when the verb has no medial consonant that can be geminated or possibly for added durative emphasis.

On the second page of your handout, you will see in Table 2 the changes which have been proposed for the initial consonants of the directionals in Numic. Mono retains the Proto-Numic system without change as far as I can determine. Central Numic and Southern Numic, however, show several changes from the Proto-Numic system. The three changes which I have listed for Southern Paiute are not necessarily in order. As in Shoshoni, the geminated initial consonant for coterminous motion is in the process of being lost, the initial

consonant of the directional being subject to the effects of the final feature on the verb root. For prior motion, however, only spirantized forms of the directionals are used, spirantization of the initial consonant having been reanalyzed as the initial consonant much as gemination was reanalyzed as the initial consonant on the coterminous forms. Shoshoni, like Southern Paiute, is in the process of losing the distinction between geminated/aspirated directionals and spirantized directionals. As Comanche and Mono are on opposite sides of the Numic territory, this loss seems to be an innovation in the contiguous Shoshoni and Southern Paiute languages rather than the gemination being an innovation in the non-contiguous Mono and Comanche languages. The fact that the directionals in Comanche have undergone the Pre-Proto-Central Numic split of gemination into gemination and aspiration also points to Proto-Numic rather than innovation in Comanche and Mono.

NOTE

*All forms cited herein are from Miller (1972), (1975), and Canonge (1958). The Comanche forms from Canonge are in a broad phonetic transcription. The Shoshoni forms from Miller are in a phonemic transcription. Underneath each cited form is a phonemic morpheme-by-morpheme gloss up to and including the directional.

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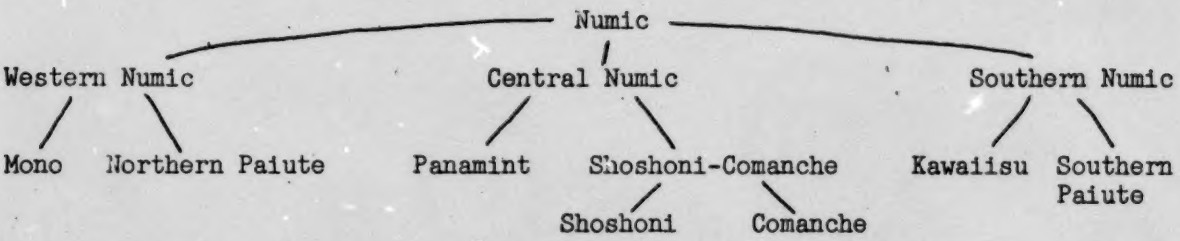
Table 1: The Numic Languages



SH (1) nukkiki 'approached'
(nukkì 'run,SG'; -kin 'hither')

(2) nukkikwana 'left'
(nukkì 'run,SG'; -kwan 'thither')

CM (3) yɨtsɨhkinU 'came flying'
(yɨtsɨ́ 'fly,SG'; -kkin 'hither')

(4) yɨtsɨhkwa 'flew off'
(yɨtsɨ́ 'fly,SG'; -kkwan 'thither')

(5) to'Iki 'comes in sight'
(to'ì 'emerge,SG'; -hkin 'hither')

(6) to'Ikwa 'went up'
(to'ì 'emerge,SG'; -hkwan 'thither')

(7) uhtuki 'came to give'
(uttù 'give'; -kin 'hither')

(8) utUki 'came giving'
(uttù 'give'; -hkin 'hither')

SH (9) punikwa 'go see'
(puní 'see'; -kwan 'thither')

(10) punikkwa 'going along, he saw'
(puní 'see'; -kkwan 'thither')

CM (11) tsaweehkwatu'I 'will haul off'
(tsa"- INSTR; weé 'haul'; -kkwan 'thither')

(12) tsaweekwatu'I 'will take off'
(tsa"- INSTR; weé 'haul'; -kwan 'thither')

(13) nuhkikitɨ 'is coming running'
(nukkì 'run,SG'; -kin 'hither')

(14) kahtɨ 'is sitting'
(katɨ́ 'sit,SG'; " DUR)

SH (15) kattɨ 'sitting'
(katɨ́ 'sit,SG'; " DUR)

(16) nookintɨn 'carried, coming'
(noó 'carry'; -kin 'hither')

(17) nookkintɨn 'kept carrying, coming'
(noó 'carry'; " DUR; -kin 'hither')

(18) miakwa 'left'
(mià 'go'; -kwan 'thither')

(19) miakkwa 'went back'
(mià 'go'; DUR; -kwan 'thither')

(20) yɨkkwikkinna 'sat down'
(yɨkwí 'sit,PL'; " DUR; " DUR; -kin 'hither')

Table 2: The changes in the directionals in Numic

*-ki, *-kwa 'hither, thither'
C/CC Momentaneous/Durative

↓

*-ki, *-kwa have initial consonants geminated for durative when motion and action are coterminous

↓

The initial gemination is morphologized

Western Numic	Central Numic	Southern Numic
↓	↓	↓
no change in Mono	Pre-Central Numic stress shift makes aspirated and geminated consonant series distinctive This change affects the initial consonants of the geminated directionals	In Southern Paiute, the geminated series is in the process of being lost, the initial consonants once geminated are now generally subject to the final features of the verb
	↓	↓
	The geminated/aspirated forms begin to collapse to spirantized	The spirantized forms for non-coterminous motion have been morphologized and are not subject to the final features
	↓	↓
Shoshoni	Comanche	Consonant Gemination comes to mean momentaneous rather than durative
↓	↓	
The geminated/aspirated forms collapse generally with the spirantized forms	No change	
↓		
The initial consonant of the directional subject to durative gemination when the medial consonant of the verb cannot be geminated		
↓		
This consonant gemination on the directional begins to spread to other verbs, sometimes with durative gemination on both the verb and the directional		